

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 05605 011216Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-12 AID-05 AF-10  
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-----031764 011218Z /53

O P 011133Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7443  
INFO NAM COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY  
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 5605

GENEVA PLEASE PASS TO USUN OFFICER GRAHAM

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORC  
SUBJ: BELGRADE NAM CONFERENCE: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. FOLLOWING ARE SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE BELGRADE NAM MEETING AND ITS POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES BY USUN OFFICER JOHN GRAHAM, WHOSE CONTINUING CONTACTS WITH NUMEROUS DELEGATIONS AND INVALUABLE ON THE SPOT ASSESSMENTS ARE HEAVILY REFLECTED IN THE EMBASSY'S COVERAGE OF THE EVENT.

2. BELGRADE -- IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY.

(A) THE NAM DOES NOT PERCEIVE A NEED FOR U.S. HELP TO STAY ON A "TRUE" NON-ALIGNED COURSE. IT WAS THE PERCEIVED THREAT TO NAM UNITY AND DIRECTION, NOT U.S. INTERVENTIONS ON THIS ISSUE, THAT WAS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR ACTIVATING REACTION BY "MODERATES" IN BELGRADE TO THE CHALLENGE POSED BY CUBA. EXPRESSIONS OF U.S. CONCERN ON NAM IDEOLOGY ARE RISKY, SINCE  
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THE POINT WE WANT TO MAKE, I.E. KEEP THE NAM TRULY NON-ALIGNED, BY DEFINITION MAKES MANY NAM STATES OVERSENSITIVE TO OUR INTERVENTIONS. A NUMBER OF DELEGATES HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, QUIETLY CRITICIZED U.S. "OVER-REACTION" ON THE CUBAN ISSUE. BUT U.S. INTEREST IN THE NAM IS WELCOME (AS WAS PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE) AND MOST NAM STATES ARE READY TO ENGAGE US IN DIALOGUE ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO US.

(B) WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE NAM OPPOSITION TO U.S. POSITIONS ON CERTAIN SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WITH IDEOLOGICAL OPPOSITION BUT SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE LINK BETWEEN THE TWO. THE FACT IS, U.S. POLICIES ON DISARMAMENT, ISRAEL, SOUTH AFRICA AND NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE VIEWED AS SIGNAL BLOCKS ON PATHS THE NAM (EITHER AS A WHOLE OR THROUGH THE CONCERNED REGIONAL GROUPS) WOULD LIKE TO TRAVEL. WHILE OBVIOUSLY OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS DEFINE THE DEGREE TO WHICH WE CAN COOPERATE ON THESE ISSUES, WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION, CERTAINLY ON THE GLOBAL ISSUES AND TO SOME EXTENT ON THE REGIONAL ONES, IN TURN DEFINES MUCH OF THE NAM'S ATTITUDE TOWARD US. THE CUBANS UNABASHEDLY STATE THAT THEY RELY ON CONTINUING U.S. INTRANSIGENCE, ESPECIALLY ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, TO HELP THEM SHIFT NAM IDEOLOGY TOWARD THAT OF THE "NATURAL ALLIES" IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.

(C) ON REGIONAL ISSUES THE NAM APPEARS TO BE EVEN INCREASING THE PRIMACY IT ACCORDS THE VIEWS OF THE CONCERNED REGIONAL GROUPS. AS IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ESPECIALLY THE PUERTO RICAN ISSUES AT BELGRADE, THE NAM MAY BLESS REGIONAL POSITIONS AS "NAM POSITIONS" EVEN THOUGH MANY EXTRA-REGIONAL MEMBERS MAY NOT AGREE (OR EVEN CARE ABOUT) THE POSITION THEY ARE ENDORSING. THE IMPLICATION SEEMS TO BE THAT OUR SUBSTANTIVE DEMARCHES ON REGIONAL ISSUES BE MORE CLOSELY TARGETED TO REGIONAL STATES IN THE MOVEMENT BUT THAT WE MAKE PLAIN TO ALL OUR ASSUMPTION THAT A "NAM POSITION" ON AN ISSUE ENTAILS A DEGREE OF RESPONSIBILITY

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FOR EVERY STATE ENDORSING THAT POSITION.  
EAGLEBURGER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
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